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244 To prevent pigs from spoiling taro:

789 *Karamuts* (plant unidentified).

Break some pieces of stick from this shrub into lengths of about two inches. Chew its root with the betel-mixture and spit on these bits of stick. Bury the sticks on the road to the taro garden. The pigs will not go into that garden. (Note that this prescription is not regarded as an alternative to good fencing!)

There are also special stones which may be planted in the garden to make the taro grow strong. They are smeared with *oin* and planted without further ceremonial. Those that I have seen are pebbles of volcanic origin, found, so their owners told me, in the beds of rivers that run to the coast from the interior. There are [439] no rivers near Kurtatchi; the stones are obtained by barter from the mountain people and are greatly valued.

244 When a large new taro garden is being made for some special purpose, a ceremony is held. I saw this done on two occasions, ● 796 once at a taro garden belonging to Kurtatchi, the second time at one belonging to the neighbouring village of Tabut. Both these gardens were being prepared for use at the big feast accompanying the watawutch ceremony. Since the methods of preparation and planting are generally applicable, and the ritual typical, I give an account of the procedure at the Kurtatchi garden in some detail.

Ceremony for Planting New Taro Garden

(*June 9 and 10, 1930*)

The ground had been cleared of everything except the orderly piles of rubbish, the trunks of the larger trees, and the roots of the bush bananas, with their stems standing a foot or so from the ground. On the day before the ceremony the whole cleared space [423] was laid out in plots, roughly square, marked off by long thin logs, each plot being the personal property of one individual. A passage-way about 6 feet wide ran down the middle of the whole ground, the shape of which was roughly rectangular. Part of two men's plots had not yet been cleared, but was still covered with leaves and brush-wood. The men responsible were held up to ridicule as lazy, but the censure was neither meant nor taken very seriously.

All the small bits of stick, leaves, &c., which remained on the plots having been carefully removed, little fires were lighted on each plot, burning dry coco-nut shells. The leaves of a plant (*nets*)

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The leaves of a plant (nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long, a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their cheeks and red on their ears.

Matēv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots, from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *ōts*, a plant

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with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the same purpose.

Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long, scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end. These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter. The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uŋ*. Pinari knows how to make it, but he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance. Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

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but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony takes place.

Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance, he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which, he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter, Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake. If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone 'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with his hand.

Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one another so that they should be of the same length. There were two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong. If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle with two leaves of *korowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were

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left sticking out of the bundle. A number of these bundles were prepared and handed to Pinari one by one. He dipped each into the *kōbū* containing the 'medicine' and smeared them with its contents, and then gave them back to the men, who went up the garden planting one beside each of the sticks holding up the coconut shells, which stood in the centre of each plot of ground. Several men took part in this procedure, there seemed to be no prerogative about it. These bundles watch over the taro and cause its stalks to grow strong.

While this was being done Sobak made a little fire of small sticks just outside the shelter, on which he very carefully placed some bits of cooked taro. These were for the *urar* who were presently to be called upon.

All this time the women had remained outside the taro garden. They were now called in by Pinari and came up in single file, each with an enormous bundle of taro stalks on her back. They went up through the cleared patch, leaving a bundle of taro stalks beside each plot, laying them out carefully and propping them up against the logs which outlined the plots.

While this was going on one of the men, Watchiu, was receiving each man's digging pole, dipping it into the *kōbū*, smearing the mixture over it with his hands and giving it back again. He is a commoner, not one of the older men, nor a person of any particular importance, and no reason was given for his undertaking this part of the procedure except that he had expressed his willingness to do so. Each man, as he received his digging pole, put it on his shoulder and went off up the ground. They divided themselves among the different plots and stood ready to make the holes in which the taro stalks were to be planted.

Then Pinari took a bundle of leaves tied up together. These were the special leaves which he had gone out early to collect. The names of six different kinds were given to me; they are chosen because they are all leaves of plants which grow quickly, the idea being that the taro plants will follow their example and hasten their own growth. The bundle was laid inside the *kōbū* containing the prepared mixture, with the stalks outside.

Then Pinari's favourite wife, Kwimau, came and took up the *kōbū*. They both went up the taro ground, Pinari in front, Kwimau following close behind him. At the bundle of taro stalks which had been left at the farthest plot he stopped, took the bunch of

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PLATE 39

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a. SPRINKLING THE TARO STALKS WITH 'MEDICINE'

b. CEREMONY AT TABUT TARO GARDEN

[Facing p. 306]

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PLATE 40

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PREPARING FOR PLANTING AFTER STALKS HAVE BEEN WASHED

[Facing p. 307]

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leaves out of the *kōbū*, and brushed the cut ends of the taro stalks rapidly with it, wetting them with the *tama'ug* mixture, and stirring the stalks about with his other hand, to make sure that each stalk was touched by it. As he brushed he called out, not very loud, but in a most reverent and impressive tone: '*Ah, Buntagori, Bunamoa, Bunabo'oi, Na'uston, Mutsbut, Bunmoramor, Buna'ian. Tamū iwi, tamū piar, tamū tʃan.*' The first part of this consists of names of people of the village who are dead, and are now *urar*, who were good gardeners in their time. All were women, except Na'uston, who was Pinari's mother's brother. Buntagori was Pinari's mother. The second part means: 'Taro here, our taro, good taro.' He carried out the same procedure at each plot (Pl. 39*a*). The order of the names varied slightly, and the formula was sometimes as follows:

'*Di ma ta tamū pa ēto piar, no me born ia.*'
Bring (*imper. part.*) some taro by medicine our, come and throw it away.

He also dabbed the mixture on the logs outlining the plots, but without saying anything. Kwimau helped with this, but for the washing of the taro stalks she merely stood by holding the *kōbū* in readiness for Pinari to dip the bundle of leaves into it.

The *urar* thus called upon come up later on. If any of the men hide and watch for them they can see and hear them. They look at the taro that has been planted, and they laugh, and say: 'The people have planted bad taro, by and by they will have nothing to eat. Let us give them good taro.' Then they go and get good taro from Kunua, from Lontis, from Hanahan, from all the places where the taro is good, and come and plant it in place of the other, which they take up and throw away.

After washing the last bundle of taro stalks Pinari wiped his hands on some leaves, which he carefully buried under a heap of rubbish in one corner of the ground.

Kwimau held out the *kōbū* to the women, and they all washed their hands in it before going to plant the taro. Finally Kwimau dipped her own hands in the mixture and rubbed them over the legs of her youngest child, aged between one and two, who was just recovering from yaws and was very sickly-looking and backward in walking. This was done to make his legs strong. Nothing was said by her as she rubbed him with the mixture.

The *kōbū* containing the *tama'ug* mixture, from which most of

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244 796 the liquid had now been used, was carefully wrapped up and put aside. At the end of the day it was taken back to the village and hung up again from the rafters of the hut from which it had been taken. When the taro stalks grow tall it is brought out again, and they are rubbed with the mixture to hasten their growth. The mixture remains in the *kōbū* permanently, being added to when required, as on the present occasion.

244 796 784 Just before Pinari and Kwimau started out to wash the taro stalks an animated discussion arose among the men. They wanted Sobak to help with the washing. But he said he did not want to be debarred from fishing. Those who perform this office may not go fishing until the taro has started to grow, and has been weeded once. If this taboo were broken the taro leaves would all shrivel up and the taro be spoiled. So Pinari excused Sobak, saying he would do it all himself. He does not fish very much in any case. Kwimau was also debarred from going near the sea, even from searching for shell-fish on the dry reef at low tide.

244 796 As Pinari finished washing each bundle of stalks the men set to work on the plots, making holes with their digging poles (Pl. 40). They pushed the poles into the ground with all the force they could muster, from some height above their heads, and then turned the pole in the ground so as to enlarge the hole. Some of the younger and more vigorous women shared in this task, but most of the women did not attempt it. As soon as the holes were ready the women planted taro stalks in them. First they took a couple of handfuls of earth out of the hole, then put two taro stalks into each, pressing them down very firmly. Then they pushed the earth they had removed down between the two stalks, pounding it down with both hands clenched. Great stress was laid upon the proper performance of this very practical procedure, and the women continually exhorted each other, and me, to press the earth down hard. If any leaves remained upon the stalk they were turned downwards and pressed into the hole, which was not always completely filled. The plants were put in about 1½ feet apart, roughly in lines.

Round the coco-nuts in the middle of each plot they planted special kinds of taro with red stalks. These are extra fine varieties. They talk to the ordinary taro, saying: 'We must grow quickly, we are afraid of these two men here who are watching us.' This refers to the two bits of wood which were planted close to the coco-nut in the middle of each plot.

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The work was done very rapidly and was well co-ordinated, so that there was no confusion, although there was a large number of people working in close juxtaposition. Though it was long after noon when the planting started the whole area was covered before sunset, except a few corners where there were not enough stalks to go round. These were finished subsequently, without further ceremony. Almost all the able-bodied people of the village were present, both men and women, with the exception of the boys wearing the *upi*. They were not allowed to come to the garden on that day, but were obliged to stay in or near the village.

The women wore no head covering. They are not allowed to wear their pandanus leaf hoods on this occasion. If any one has a *waris* relative present she must make a hood out of banana leaves. I could get no explanation of this rule against the wearing of the hood, usually very much in evidence on all ceremonial occasions, frequently worn even when custom does not require it, to protect the head when exposed to the heat of the sun, as these women were all this day.

Every one left the garden as soon as the planting was finished. It was not visited again for the next five days. After that work was resumed upon it, the remaining patches were cleared and the odd corners filled.

There was no *kōma* on the evening of the ceremony, and all next day every one stayed about the place doing nothing. They said they were tired after the hard work of planting. There was a *kōma* that evening, especially for the taro garden, but it did not go on all night.

I could get no information as to how long it would be before this taro was ready for use. They seem to judge only by looking at it.

On August 23, 1930, I saw another performance of this ceremony, on the occasion of the planting of a taro garden belonging to the village of Tabut. Although the general course of the proceedings was similar, the whole thing was much less elaborate and carried out with less dramatic effect. The principal performer chewed some roots with areca-nut and the leaves—but not the fruit, which is the usual accompaniment of areca-nut—of the betel-pepper, and touched the heaps of taro stalks with this mixture, which he spat into the palms of his hands (Pl. 39*b*). He did not call upon any *wae*. I inquired later as to this omission and was told that some people did so and some did not, but that if it had

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been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so. The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *urar*. It may be that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

Coco-nuts

Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various stages in its development:

Stage of growth.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*Petats dialect.*
Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm	*ūir*	*ūel*
Very young nut	*kukūts*	*teō*
Young nut before it contains liquid		*pēsis* or *pēli*
Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears	*konpēn*	*kakarut*
Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut')	*mayur*	*irabil*
Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking)	*wini*	*kuvo*
Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable)	*wahamitskoma*	*rut*
Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut)	*mukas* or *makas*	*lay*
Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry	*avoy*	*pitor*
Nut the kernel of which has become spongy	*awan*	*tunun*
Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground		*tus* or *alnun*
Nut which has sprouted		*hala*

The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives, &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10*s*. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

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fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again.

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco to the *tsunaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned.

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement.

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck

mouth and eyes; on the black background of the masks red and white lines and figures were drawn, which imitated the decoration customary at the dances. No particular reverence seemed to be shown to these masks; boys and youths used them for all sorts of pranks, even in the presence of women, and seemed to take particular delight in frightening the women with them. On the Nissan Group the masks are made far more carefully. A frame of bamboo strips that covers the whole head is covered with bast. On this an artificial face is painted with the pulverized nut of parinarium laurinum; an artificial wig of moss or plant fibers is attached to it; the ears are indicated by carved pieces of wood that project. This is one sort of mask that is common there; another sort represents a face carved out of wood, on whose black background the customary artistic facial scarification is carefully imitated with white and red lines; the wigs of these masks are made of human hair and show the coiffure that is customary in that region. A peculiar shirtlike garment with sleeves of fiber material dyed brown goes with the masks. It is draped over the body and reaches to the heels. 532 171

On a voyage to the northern Solomon Islands in October 1897 I found out that the Nissan masks are also in use on the island of Buka, although the form deviates somewhat. After a long questioning I succeeded in obtaining some information about them, but nobody seemed to be inclined to explain exhaustively; the whole matter was treated only with great hesitancy. It was not until I reached Ralum that I succeeded in piecing together the fragments by questioning individual Buka Islanders. They, too, spoke only when I questioned them individually. When several of them were together, they pretended that they knew nothing about the matter. I soon found out that these matters are kept so strictly secret at home that there a betrayal of the secrecy involves a death sentence. Nevertheless I believe that the following portrayal comes very close to the truth.

From time to time the men betake themselves at a prearranged time to a remote spot in the forest, where they clear a little place of bushes and underbrush and erect small huts. This place is called tâlohu and the women are strictly forbidden to enter it. In the tâlohu they now prepare masks very similar to the above-described ones from Nissan; when they are through, they make of tree bast the previously described shirtlike garment and the garb is then complete. During 796

the preparations boys and youths must bring food to the tálohu and in part prepare it there also. For recreation they dance and sing. This mummery is used solely as a means for extorting all sorts of goods. Namely, the women are told that the spirit Kokorra is concealed in the garb; when they perceive this so-called "spirit," they hastily throw away anything that they happen to be carrying at the moment and run away as fast as possible. Naturally the men pick up the things that have been thrown away and regard them as their own. This activity is continued for a few weeks, during which time the men stay at the tálohu, where, according to the women's opinion, they are serving the spirit Kokorra. 796

[11] In north Bougainville we find a very similar institution which is apparently an extension and perfection of the one just described. In Bougainville the practice is called rukruk, and sometimes also burri. The procedure is this: every now and then the older men select from friendly neighboring families a boy or youth who has not yet participated in rukruk. Chieftains generally choose more than one youth, but the number of the chosen rarely exceeds four. It is a particular honor to be chosen by a chieftain. After their election the chosen ones are called Matasesén, and, as such, they belong during the time of rukruk to the electors, who are called their Marau. The Marau leads his Matasesén to a remote spot in the woods where a spacious hut has been erected, which is called áhbassa; the place itself is the áhbassa burri. In the hut, which also serves the Marau and the Matasesén as a dormitory, are kept the balloon-shaped hats with which the Matasesén are outfitted. These hats, called hassebóu, are made by certain old men, and for each hassebóu the Marau pays the maker a string of biruan, [see p. 58 ed.] spears, bows and arrows, etc. The Matasesén must now remain at the áhbassa burri until their hair grows so long that they can force it into the hassebóu and thus keep it on their heads. (1) As soon as this happens, the Matasesén can leave the place [346] [293]

1. Meyer and Parkinson, Papuatypen, Plate 31, shows a group of Matasesén.

and visit their relatives and villages; but they may never show themselves to women without the hat and must always return to the áhbassa in the evening. If they want to bathe, then they do this at night on the shore or in the daytime at remote spots in the mountain rivers. During the whole time the Matasesén work for their Marau; they lay

out great plantations for them, are kept under rather strict control, and if there is a shortage of food, the relatives must send the necessary things and put them down outside the high fence of the ähbassa burri. If any women should enter the ähbassa burri--which by the way never happens--then they would be killed; they are also killed if they accidentally catch sight of a Matasesën without his hassebou and are caught in the act. Such cases are reputedly not extremely rare. Thus it is understandable that the women stay as far away as possible from the place of residence of the Matasesën and their plantations. The women are told that at the ähbassa burri the Matasesën commune with spirits that are called Ruk. There are two different spirits: a male one, Ruk a tzon: and a female one, called Ruk a tahol. These spirits produce a noise that is so terrible and frightening to the ears of the women that they throw away their possessions and hastily run away. It is self-evident that the Marau and the Matasesën appropriate that which has been thrown away. The noise that sounds so terrible is actually harmless enough, for the instrument that produces it is a whirring rod that is swung with great rapidity overhead on a thin cord. Obviously this whirring rod is a secret that remains strictly concealed from the women. A visitor never gets to see one. On a short jaunt in Bougainville with some friendly coastal acquaintances it happened a few years ago that I caught up in the forest with a number of Matasesën who were returning from their plantation work. All of them were armed as usual with spears, bows and arrows, but one of them had in his hand a piece of wood whose use was unknown to me and which attracted my attention. But when I stepped up to the youth, he hid the instrument behind his back, and there arose a lively dispute among the companions as well as among my comrades. As a result the young man in question hastily slipped into the bushes and disappeared from my sight. At that time the incident was completely incomprehensible to me; despite all inquiries I could not find out the reason for this sudden disappearance and only years later did it occur to me that the harmless whirring rod had been the cause.

When the hair finally completely fills the hassebou, a great festivity is held within the ähbassa burri, to which also the fathers and male relatives of the Matasesën are granted admittance. This festival lasts several days, and dancing and singing alternate with banquets; the men prepare every single dish. The women are strictly forbidden to approach the festival place, and the spirit voices of Ruk keep them at

a respectful distance. After the feast has ended the parents of the Matasesẽn give the Marau presents consisting of two or three strings of biruan, spears, bows, arrows and other effects. At the festival place the hassebou are [12] taken off the youths and burned, and there likewise the long locks of the Matasesẽn are cut off, but then tied up in leaves in a bundle and kept in their huts. As a rule one long lock is left on the nape, which is decorated at the end with beads or a shell. After the haircutting the Marau take their Matasesẽn back into their home villages, and this in turn is again the occasion for further festivities. When they come back a tall post or mast is erected on an open spot in the village; this mast, which is decorated with foliage and painted, is climbed by a Marau. From the top he calls the Matasesẽn by the names by which they are to be known in the future; the old name is forgotten. This mast is called kukun a solo; after the name giving it is removed, chopped up, and burned. After the rukruk festivity has been completed, the Matasesẽn can choose a wife. They are considered adults and take part in all festivities of the men. A comparison of the rukruk of the Solomon Islanders with the dukduk of the Gazelle Peninsula forces itself spontaneously upon one. It is not only the name that leads to such a comparison. In the dukduk a special festival place, the tareiu, is set aside for the participants, as in the rukruk the tãlohu--two words which, in view of the otherwise very different languages, have the greatest similarity. The exclusion of women from all festivities at the festival place is common to both and likewise the pretense that the participants commune with spirits at the festival place. The female spirit Ruk a tzon [sic] corresponds to Tubuvan of dukduk, who is conceived as female; the male spirit Ruk a tahol corresponds to the male dukduk. The frightening of women -- in Bougainville by the Matasesẽn and in Buka by the Kokorra--and the appropriation of the objects thrown away by the frightened women is the same in both places, and likewise the slaying of women if they accidentally discover any of the secrets of rukruk and dukduk. The burning of the hassebou and the burning of the garments and masks used in dukduk is a further common characteristic. If we were better acquainted with rukruk, then far more similarities could probably be found. It is easily comprehensible that different characteristics developed in the course of time among the two tribes as a result of their isolation from each other. The inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsula, who to a far greater extent than the Solomon Islanders have the need

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to accumulate and acquire shell money, found in dukduk an appropriate means of satisfying their greed in the most lucrative way. If the whirring rod is not known on the Gazelle Peninsula, this speaks for the fact that the people who introduced the practice there were acquainted, to be sure, with many details of the custom and specifically with those which were relatively easy to find out; but the true secret--the voices of the spirits, which is so carefully concealed during rukruk that in that region you never see a whirring rod--remained hidden from them. A direct transplantation of rukruk from Bougainville and Buka all the way to the Peninsula is scarcely conceivable although these islands are separated only by about 130 nautical miles of ocean. It is far more probable that it spread indirectly on the previously mentioned path by way of Nissan to Wonneran and from there to South New Mecklenburg and New Lauenburg. On the way, then, reminiscences from northwest New Mecklenburg attached themselves to the tradition brought from the Solomon Islands, especially the masking of the face. It is also not impossible that this masking, which is completely absent in Bougainville, is a modification introduced from New Mecklenburg via Wonneram to Nissan and Buka. Unfortunately the dukduk customs existing in southern New Mecklenburg (which deviate from those of the Gazelle Peninsula) are not known; it is very probable that if we get to know them someday, the origins in Bougainville can be proven with far more certainty. Quite recently I have been informed of a peculiar headdress from the mountains that form the western edge of the Gazelle Peninsula. The population there, called "Beining" by the rest of the Gazelle Peninsula, differs completely in speech and in customs and practices from the other inhabitants of the peninsula; they are just as different from the inhabitants of the part of New Pomerania situated farther west. This peculiar headdress that is worn by the male natives for certain dances and reaches an enormous height--up to ten meters--has much in common with the headcoverings of dukduk; it is not improbable that the dukduk people have also adopted from these neighbors this or that characteristic and modified it in their own way.